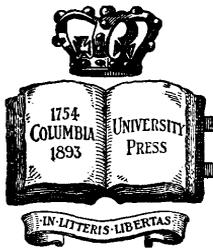


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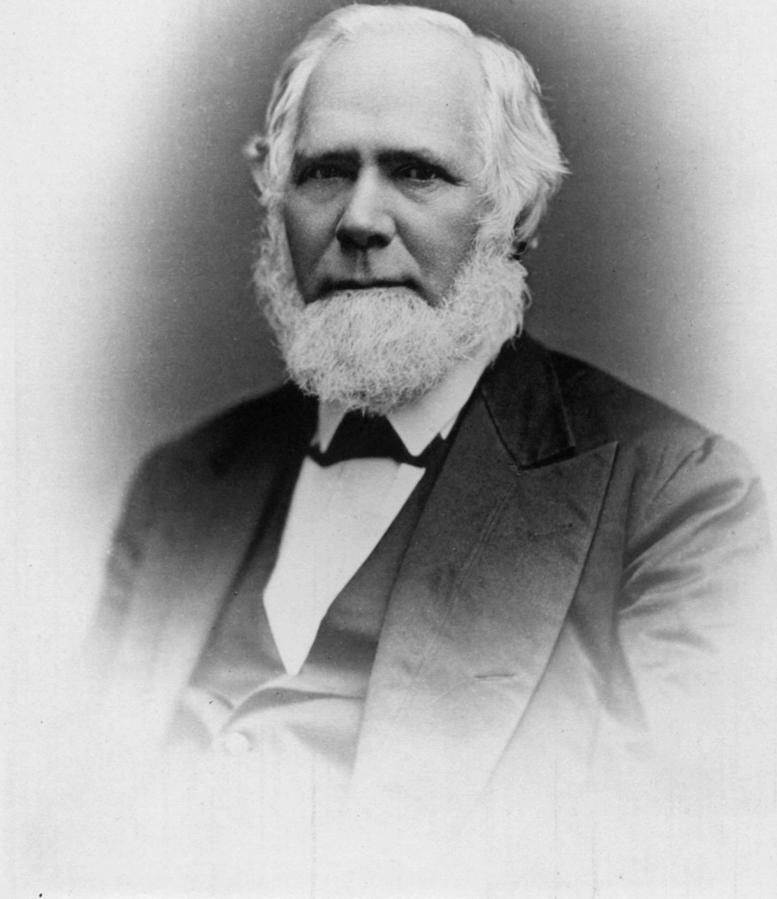
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## References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature.

THE recent discussions in regard to the connections of Zoroastrianism with the Bible and the age of the founder of that religious body, have brought prominently to the foreground the extra-Iranian traditions coupled with his name. It is not my purpose here to touch upon those which are to be found in classical writings, for these are easily accessible even to the specialist in Iranian history. But the Syriac and Arabic traditions, whatever value they may possess, are hidden away in books which seldom come to the notice of any but students of these particular literatures. Few of these texts have been translated into a modern language, and even where some of the passages to which I refer have been extracted by such scholars as Spiegel, Windischmann, Kuhn, etc., the work has necessarily been imperfect and insufficient. It may be also of some worth to have all the references collected in one place, so that those who use them may know where to find all the traditions which touch on this subject. Nöldeke has recently pointed out<sup>1</sup> the necessity of a complete presentation of the Arabic traditions on early Persian history. In putting together the following notices, I wish to be understood as only delivering a few stones for a building which others are to put up. I know nothing of Iranian save what one can know by the help of translations; and I must leave it to others to test the real value of these Oriental traditions. Nor would I claim that I have found all the references. I have had to rely upon my own collection of Arabic books, which is, naturally enough, limited. Even then I may have overlooked some trifles; I trust not more than trifles. For this I claim the indulgence of scholars.

Syriac literature, being largely ecclesiastical and exegetical, there was really only one occasion in connection with which Zoroaster might be mentioned, the adoration of the Magi (Matthew ii. 1 sq.).

All the references which occur in this literature go back to the

<sup>1</sup> *Persische Studien*, ii. Wien, 1892, p. 27.

commentators of this passage. It is true that the Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite (according to W. Wright, 506 A.D.<sup>1</sup>), which has been preserved in the work of a later historian, Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē (died 845 A.D.), mentions in Chap. 20 that Kawad "re-established the abominable sect (*αἱρεσις*) of the Magi, which is called that of the Zarādushtakān, which teaches that women should be in common, and that every one should have connection with whom he pleases." Nöldeke, however, has shown<sup>2</sup> that this refers to the sect (with socialistic ideas) founded by one Mazdak, who is also said to have been the son of Zoroaster. His name, Zaradusht, son of Ĥoragān, is evidence that we have here to deal with a later personage bearing the same name as the old Iranian prophet.

In a book called *The Cave of Treasures*, which belongs to that cycle of literary productions which the early Church brought out in opposition to the Synagogue, and which was current in the Asian and African Churches, in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, we should naturally look to find traditions connected with the coming of the three Magi. The work contains a short account of the biblical history from the first Adam to the "last Adam," intermingled with all manner of Haggadic material, which was current in the Judæo-Christian circles in which it took its rise.<sup>3</sup> On p. 230 of the text<sup>4</sup> (= trans. p. 56 sq.) we have the account of the Magi; which, though it contains no references that concern us directly, will be discussed later. But in the early part of the work (p. 136 sq.) in the account of the fabulous Nimrod, I find a tradition which relates to the first establishment of fire worship in Persia, and which, for that reason, is worth while quoting: "In the days of Namrud (Nimrod) the mighty man, there appeared a fire which ascended from the earth. Namrud went down, looked at it, and worshipped it. He appointed priests to do service there and to throw frankincense into it (fire). At that time the Persians commenced to worship fire, [and continued to do so] up to this day. Sisan,<sup>5</sup> the king, found a spring of water in Adhrabajān.<sup>6</sup> He made a white horse and placed it near by. Those who were accustomed to bathe there

<sup>1</sup> See Wright's edition, Cambridge, 1882, p. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leyden, 1879, pp. 455 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, iii. p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. by Karl Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, Leipzig, 1883-88.

<sup>5</sup> This name is found only in one

MS. (A). One Arabic MS. has Sās; the others, Sisōn. See Bezold, p. 78, note.

<sup>6</sup> Atropatene. The text has Derōgin; but, with the help of the Arabic, there can be no doubt as to the correct reading. See, also, Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, iii. p. 63.

worshipped that horse.<sup>1</sup> Now Namrud went to Yukdura, in Nod, and when he came to the sea Atras,<sup>2</sup> he found there Yon-ton, the son of Noah. He descended and bathed in that sea, and then went and worshipped Yon-ton. Yon-ton said, 'Thou who art a king worshippeth me?' Namrud answered, 'For thy sake have I come down here.' So he remained with him for three years. And Yon-ton taught Namrud wisdom, and (gave him?) a book of visions, saying, 'Do not come any more to me.' Now when he had come up from the East, and had commenced to make use of this (book of) visions, many were astonished at him. Idsher,<sup>3</sup> the priest who was in attendance at the fire which had come out from the ground, seeing Namrud busied with these ancient arts, besought the spirit (Deva), which was accustomed to appear near that fire, to teach him the wisdom of Namrud. Now, as is the custom for such Devas to destroy those who draw near to them in sin, that Deva said to the priest that it was impossible for a man to become priest or Magus unless he had previously had connection with his mother, his daughter, and his sister. The priest did as the Deva had bidden him. And from that time the priests and Magians and Persians commenced to take their mothers, and sisters, and daughters.<sup>4</sup> This priest, Idsher, was the first to occupy himself with the signs of the Zodiac, and destinies, lots, coincidences, quiverings, and other things belonging to the science of the Chaldæans (witchcraft?).

"This Namrud built strong cities in the East, Babylon, Niniveh, Resin, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Adhrabijân. He constructed (also) strongholds there."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lagarde, *loc. cit.*, refers to Kazwini's *Cosmography*, p. 189, 12 (= Ethé's translation, p. 386).

<sup>2</sup> The other MSS., *Ukaras*. See Tabari, i. p. 220, and *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1889, No. 22, p. 554. Lidzbarski, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vii. p. 115, sees here, with some show of reason, a reflex of the old Babylonian "Nimrod-Epos." According to Methodios and Michael Syrus, Noah's son was named *Maniton*. See Wirth, *Aus Orientalischen Chroniken*, 1894, pp. 67, 224.

<sup>3</sup> The pronunciation of this name varies greatly. The Arabic has *Ay-dashir*, and one MS., *Ardashir*. Bezold refers to a note in Cureton's *Spi-cilegium Syriacum*, p. 81. The author

of this law is said by Theodoretus to be Zaradas; = Zaradosht. Cf. above, the extract from Joshua the Stylite. The same charge is found in the treatise ascribed to Bardaisân (Bardesanus). See Cureton, translation, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> I suppose this refers simply to consanguineous marriages, which, I believe, were not foreign to the Persians. Kohler has found traces of this in the Apocrypha (Jubilees, Adam and Eve, Tobit). See *Jewish Quart. Rev.* v. pp. 406 sq.

<sup>5</sup> For the Ethiopic version, which is substantially the same, see Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, London, 1882, p. 177. The identification of Zoroaster with Nimrod is also found in the *Cle-*

I have given this passage at length because of the mention of the fire which came out of the ground, a tradition which we shall meet again in the Arabic legends. The spring of water in Adhrabijān will also occur later.

It is worth mentioning that the well of water already occurs in the interesting "Oration of Meliton the Philosopher; who was in the presence of Antoninus Cæsar, and bade the same Cæsar know God, etc.," as published by Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*; London, 1855, p. 25, 14.<sup>1</sup> I give Cureton's translation (p. 44): "But touching Nebo, which is in Mabug, why should I write to you; for, lo! all the priests which are in Mabug know that it is the image of Orpheus, a Thracian Magus. And Hadran is the image of Zaradusht, a Persian Magus, because both of these Magi practised Magism to a well which is in a wood in Mabug, in which was an unclean spirit, and it committed violence and attacked the passage of every one who was passing by in all that place in which now the fortress of Mabug is located; and these same Magi charged Simi, the daughter of Hadad, that she should draw water from the sea, and cast it into the well, in order that the spirit should not come up and commit injury, according to that which was a mystery in their Magism."

The next citations occur in the Syro-Arabic *Lexica* of Bar 'Alī and Bar Bahlūl. Bar 'Alī, about 832 A.D. (of whose work I have an edition in preparation), says<sup>2</sup> that Zardosht means "golden kingdom." He adds, "Zardosht composed his filthy teaching in seven languages." In another place (*s.v.* Balaam) he adds, "Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians." The connection between Zaradusht and Balaam was near at hand in Numbers xxiv. 17, "a star shall come forth from Jacob." It was generally conceded by such teachers as Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Nicephorus, Callixtus, etc. A small tract "On the Star" is extant in Syriac, and is attributed to Eusebius. Its tendency is "to show that Balaam's prophecy travelled eastward from Moab, and was handed down by Persian kings until the days of Augustus Cæsar,

*mentine Homelies* (ix. 3-6). Nebrod = Zoroaster (= Ζῶρα ποῦ ἀστέρος). Curiously enough, in the parallel passage in the *Recognitions* (iv. 27-30) Misraim takes the place of Nimrod. See Lehmann, *Die Clementinischen Schriften*, 1869, pp. 199 *sq.*; *ZDMG*, xix. p. 34, and especially Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 308.

<sup>1</sup> On the author of the book, see Nöldeke, *Jahrb. für Protest. Theologie*, xiii. p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 1155; cf. col. 539. *The Samaritan Book of Joshua*, translated by O. T. Crane, New York, 1890, p. 102, speaks of "the books of Bila'am."

when the star did actually appear.”<sup>1</sup> Ḥasan Bar Bahlūl (about 963 A.D.) has a fuller account. In the edition of Duval,<sup>2</sup> *s.v.* Zardosht, we read: “Zardosht; [the word occurs] in the book *Paradise* [of Palladius?].<sup>3</sup> This is explained to mean *royal gold*, i.e. ‘zar’-gold, ‘washt’ [or] ‘basht’-kingship.<sup>4</sup> . . . This Zardosht brought forward the babblings of the Magians. As is customary with names used in other languages we do not pronounce Zardosht as do the Persians, but Zrahdesht(?),<sup>5</sup> just as we do not pronounce Mishē<sup>6</sup> (Moses), as do the Hebrews, but Mūshē; for so it is proper in Syriac script.”

Bar Bahlūl also, *s.v.* Kāsōmā (divinator), Payne-Smith, col. 3704, says: “Divinator, like Zardosht, whom people say is Baruch the Scribe; and because prophecy was not accorded him he went astray, journeyed to [other] nations and learned twelve tongues. It is written in a book that when Zardosht was seated by a spring of water—a bathing-place of the king—he said to his disciples: ‘in the latter days a maiden, a daughter of the Hebrews, will have a son in the flesh, but without connection, who shall have a godly nature. At his birth a star will appear. Go ye! bring him three offerings, gold, myrrh, and frankincense.’ Then he conversed about his passion and his resurrection.” The reason for identifying Baruch with Zoroaster is not apparent, yet it was quite current, as we shall see, in church circles. Finally, *s.v.* Abhastāg,<sup>7</sup> Bar Bahlūl says, “Abhastaga, in one copy, is the name of the book of Zoroaster which he composed in seven tongues, Syrian, Persian, Aramæan, Segistanian, Marozian, Greek, and Hebrew.” The names are of interest here, and will occupy us again in speaking of the Arabic Fihrist.

At about the same time lived ‘Ishōdad of Ḥadatha (about 852 A.D.). In his commentary on the New Testament,<sup>8</sup> which only exists in MS., he has the following note to Matthew ii. 1: “It has been asked whence did the Magi receive [information] that when a [certain] star should appear, the King of Kings was born, and that it was proper

<sup>1</sup> Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Lexicon Syriacum*, Parisiis, 1888, etc., col. 699.

<sup>3</sup> Duval, p. iv.; Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> The pronunciation is uncertain, as the vowels are not given.

<sup>6</sup> So the MSS. What pronunciation does this represent? Is it the Greek *Μωυσης*, which has been found in the Hebrew מוֹשֶׁה? Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iv., note 19; *Allgem. Zeit. des Judenth.*, 1893, No. 50 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. my note, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xi. p. 68.

to bring him triple offerings. Some say from Daniel. For certain men came from Shebha to Babel to the palace, at the time when Nebuchadnezzar was ruling, to bring offerings to the king, and to learn Chaldaism (*i.e.* Chaldean magic). Daniel told them that when the Messiah will be born, it will be proper for the kings of Shebha and Sebha to bring him offerings. They wrote [this] down in their *βιβλιοθήκη*, *i.e.* archives, and in their *ὑπομνήματα*, *i.e.* book of chronicles. Others say they received word from Bel'am. The truth of the matter is, that it had been predicted by Zāradosht, the head of their sect, either because he was constrained by divine power, as Bel'am and Kayyafa (Caiaphas), or because he was of the people of Israel and a student of the Scriptures.<sup>1</sup>

“Some say that he (Zoroaster) is the same as Baruch, the pupil of Eramya (Jeremiah), and [that], because the gift of prophecy was denied him as [had been] his wish, and, because of that bitter exile and the sack of Jerusalem and the Temple, he became offended (or angry) and went away among other nations, learned twelve languages and in them wrote that vomit of Satan, *i.e.* their book which is called *Abhastā*. Therein is written: As Zāradosht was sitting by a well of water, where had been constructed a bathing place for former kings, he opened his mouth and said to his disciples, ‘Hear, O my beloved, and ye children whom I have trained in my teaching. In the latter days a virgin, a daughter of the Hebrews, will be with child and will give birth, without cohabiting, to a boy in whom the divine nature dwells. He will perform wonderful deeds and miracles. At his birth a star will appear to you. Go, bring him offerings, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense. For he is the King of Kings.’”

We find the same story, almost word for word, in the “Book of the Bee,” an epitome of the world’s history made by Solomon of Hilāt (born about 1222 A.D.)<sup>2</sup>:—

“This Zārādōsht is Baruch the scribe. When he was sitting by the fountain of water called Glōshā of Hōrīn, where the royal bath had been erected, he said to his disciples, the king Gūshānāsp and Sāsān and Mahīmad, ‘Hear, my beloved children, for I will

<sup>1</sup> Is there any real tradition in this — in the line of Darmstetter’s arguments in favour of a Jewish influence on Zoroastrianism? Or is this on a par with similar assumptions that Plato and Aristotle were students of the Thorah (Law)? Cf. Herzog-Plitt, *Encycl.* i. p. 281; *Revue des Et. Juives*, xxiv.

122; Frankel, *Monatschrift*, 1860, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Anecdota Oxoniensia: The Book of the Bee*, ed. by E. A. Wallis Budge, Oxford, 1886, pp. 81 *sq.* The passage has been treated of by Ernst Kuhn, *Eine Zoroastrische Prophezeiung in Christlichen Gewande*.

reveal to you a mystery concerning the great King who is about to rise upon the world. At the end of time, and at the final dissolution, a child shall be conceived in the womb of a virgin, and shall be formed in her members, without any man approaching her. And he shall be like a tree with beautiful foliage and laden with fruit, standing in a parched land; and the inhabitants of that land shall be gathered together to uproot it from the earth, but shall not be able. Then they will take him and crucify him upon a tree, and heaven and earth shall sit in mourning for his sake; and all the families of the nations shall be in grief for him. He will begin to go down to the depths of the earth, and from the depth he will be exalted to the height; then he will come with the armies of light and be borne aloft upon white clouds; for he is a child conceived by the Word which establishes natures.' Gūshānsāph says to him, 'Whence has this one, of whom thou sayest these things, his power? Is he greater than thou, or art thou greater than he?' Zārādōsh says to him, 'He shall descend from my family; I am he, and he is I; he is in me, and I am in him. When the beginning of his coming appears, mighty signs will be seen in heaven, and his light shall surpass that of the sun. But ye, sons of the seed of life, who have come forth from the treasures of life and light and spirit, and have been sown in the land of fire and water, for you it is meet to watch and take heed to these things which I have spoken to you, that ye await his coming; for you will be the first to perceive the coming of that great king, whom the prisoners await to be set free. Now, my sons, guard this secret which I have revealed to you, and let it be kept in the treasure-houses of your souls. And when that star rises of which I have spoken, let ambassadors bearing offerings be sent by you, and let them offer worship to him. Watch, and take heed, and despise him not, that he destroy you not with the sword; for he is the king of kings, and all kings receive their crowns from him. He and I are one.' These are the things which were spoken by this second Balaam,<sup>1</sup> and God, according to His custom, compelled him to interpret these things; or he sprang from a people who were acquainted with the prophecies concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and declared them aforetime."

Whatever the origin of the identification of Zoroaster with Baruch<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We have here merely a *comparison* with Balaam. In other writers this becomes an *identification*.

(*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. du Roi*, ii. p. 319) tries to explain the connection of Jeremiah with Zoroaster from the Arabic form

<sup>2</sup> The scribe of Jeremiah. De Sacy

may be, the latter seems to have been more honored in death than in life. His last resting place is connected with miraculous accounts, and seems to have been held in high esteem by the Jews of Babylon. Rabbi Pethahyā of Ratisbon visited it in the twelfth century, and recounts some of these wonders.<sup>1</sup> Curiously enough, a brightness (or light) is said to have proceeded from his grave.<sup>2</sup> It may be worthy of mention that Baruch's master, Jeremiah, according to the Book of the Bee (p. 72) also prophesied the truth of the Messiah — but to the Egyptians.

In a MS. fragment<sup>3</sup> containing Syriac prayers for various occasions and charms against all manner of sicknesses, I find the following: "On Edhre<sup>4</sup> and boils, let him say a blessing three times and (repeat): Zardosht the prophet prophesied saying: A time will come when they will see a star in the heavens having the likeness of a mother with a son in her arms.<sup>5</sup> The time came, and they saw the star. Twelve<sup>6</sup> kings set out from Persia to go to Jerusalem. Before the cock could crow they had reached Jerusalem. They saw King Herod, who said to them: Whence come ye, and whither are ye going? They answered: A king has been born in Bethlehem, and we have come to worship him. Then the star fell down in front of them; they went and worshipped the boy who had been born. They opened their treasure chests and brought him offerings: gold, and myrrh, and frankincense. They asked for a set of swaddling clothes; they then went to Persia, made a great fire, and threw the

of the name *Armiya* (Jeremiah), which bears some similarity to the city of *Urmiah*. *The Second Book of the Maccabees* (chaps. i. and ii.) relates how Jeremiah, after the destruction of Jerusalem, hid the fire of the Temple, which was afterwards found by Nehemiah. The king of Persia is said to have tried to do the same. Is this not an evident attempt to explain the fire-worship of the Persians? See *Jewish Quart. Rev.* v. p. 412.

<sup>1</sup> See Benisch, *Travels of Rabbi Pethachia of Ratisbon*, London, 1866, pp. 20 and 50.

<sup>2</sup> This light, or fire, coming up from the earth, occurs in the later Arabic traditions.

<sup>3</sup> The property of the Rev. Mr. Yohannan.

<sup>4</sup> What sort of sickness this is, I am unable to say.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 56; Dillmann, *Das Christliche Adamsbuch* Jahrbücher für Bibl. Wissenschaft, 1853, p. 135; Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 204. Cf. also Wirth, *Aus Orientalischen Chroniken*, 1894, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> This number (12) occurs elsewhere. See Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule, col. 1002, below; which agrees, almost word for word, with a scholion of Jacob of Edessa (seventh century), quoted by Nestle, *Marginalien und Materialien*, Tübingen, 1893, p. 72. The same reference is found in the Commentary of Bar 'Ebhrrāyā to Math. ii. 1. See the edition of Spanuth, Göttingen, 1879.

swaddling clothes of our Lord upon the fire. Before the swaddling clothes of our Lord the fire went out.<sup>1</sup> In this manner may the Edhra go out, and leave, and be plucked from the body of N. N., the son of N. N., and all the evil boils, (just) as that fire went out in the presence of the swaddling clothes of our Lord. Amen!"

The last writer among the Syrians of any real importance, Gregorius Bar 'Ebhṛāyā (about 1250), also mentions these traditions in that part of his "Treasury of Secrets" which comments upon the passage in Matthew:<sup>2</sup> "Some say that an angel appeared to them like a star, others a maiden carrying a male babe in her arms and a crown upon her head. Still others say that they saw writing which announced his appearance. But others again say that Bal'am, their father (ancestor?), or Zaradosht, their prophet, had in times gone by prophesied (its coming) to them." Bar 'Ebhṛāyā has a little different tradition in his Arabic Chronicon:<sup>3</sup> "In those days (of Cyrus) came Zaradosht, chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Adharbījān, or, as some say, of Āthōr (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's<sup>4</sup> disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ, and that they should bring him gifts. And he told them that in after time a virgin should be with child without having known man, and about the time of her bringing forth, a star brilliant by day should appear, in the midst of which would be seen the figure of a young virgin. You then, my children, will be favoured before all other people with the light of the star: and when ye see it, go whither it leads you, worship the child, and offer him gold, incense, and myrrh."

Turning now to the Arabic writers, we find their interest to be quite a different one to that of the Syrians. There is no Oriental people who have done so much for their own history as have the Arabs; and, with the acquisition of Persia, they extended this interest also to the history of the conquered provinces.

Many of their most learned men were Persians by birth, and had no racial affinity with those who held sway over them. This was reason sufficient to give them an interest in the early history of Persia; though this was not needed, as nearly every historical writer commenced *ab ovo* — with the very beginnings of history. But though written as history, not all that we find in their books can be

<sup>1</sup> Luke ii. 12. The same tradition is found in *The Book of the Bee*, p. 85, and in Hone, *Protovangelion*, Infancy, iii. 4-10, as cited by Budge, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Spanuth, p. 6, lines 25 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Saḥāni, Beirut, 1890, p. 83. Here he follows his Arabic masters.

<sup>4</sup> A mistake for *Jeremiah*?

called by such a name. Here the authors took little pains to separate real tradition from fiction, as they were careful to do in treating of purely Arabian and Muhammadan history. We shall therefore find again a number of the legends and identifications mentioned above recurring here, especially in the works which are manifestly compilations. Many of the learned Arabs held converse with Syriac historians, and thus obtained many of their traditions *viva voce*.

The tradition which places Zoroaster's teaching in Atropatene is almost unanimous among the Muhammadan writers. These traditions are generally centred upon or around the city of Urmia (Oroomiah).

As early a writer as Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al Baladhurī (about A.D. 851) in his *Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān*,<sup>1</sup> in speaking of the conquest of Adrabijān has the following note: "Urmia is an ancient city; the Magians think that Zāradusht, their master, came from there."

Of the historians who treat of the early history of Persia, Abu Ḥanifa Aḥmad al-Dainawarī must first be mentioned, who, in his *Kitāb al-Aḥbār al-ṭiwāl*<sup>2</sup> relating the history of Vishtāsp, says: "Zaradusht, the head of the Magians, came to Bushtāsip the king, saying, I am a messenger of God to thee. He brought him a work which the Magians possess. Bushtāsip believed in him and followed the Magian religion, and compelled his people to follow it *nolens volens*." The text then relates the anger of Rustem, the viceroy of Sijistān, at this change of religion, and his consequent battle with Isfandijād, son of Bushtāsip. In the same manner, but a little more precisely, Zoroaster is mentioned by Hamza ibn al Ḥasan Aliṣfahānī in his *Annals*,<sup>3</sup> p. 22, "Gustaspe rege Zerduscht inclaruit"; p. 26, "Lohraspe vivo potestas travita fuit filio eius Cai Gustaspi; adhuc trigesimo regni anno, cum ipse L annos esset natus, Zerduscht, Adjerbeidjanensis accessit atque religionem exposuit, quam ille non modo ipse amplexus est, sed etiam in eius favorem legatis ad Græcos missis eos ad illam accipiendam invitavit. Hi tamen librum a Feridune sibi datum protulerunt, ubi conventum erat: sibi qualemunque religionem elegerint, esse permissam. Itaque ad iis se cohibuit, cum id, quod manibus tenebant, auferre nollet." Speaking of the different systems of chronology, he says (p. 8), "Persæ, qui ex Avesta, libro sacro a Zerduscht iis apportato computant, e

<sup>1</sup> De Goeje, *Liber Expugnationis Regnorum*, Leyden, 1866, p. 331. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Vladimir de Guirgass, Leyden, 1888, p. 27. Dainawarī died A.D. 895.

<sup>3</sup> Gottwaldt, *Hamzæ Ispahanensis Annalium Libri x.*, Lipsiæ, 1844, whose translation I have cited.

tempore Caiumrathi, hominum parentis, ad regnum Jezdegerdis quatuor millia CLXXXII annos, decem menses et undeviginti dies colligunt.”

One of the best authorities for these descriptions is Abu-l Hasan al Mas'ûdi (died 957 A.D.). Born in Bagdad, he travelled far and wide, collecting material for his great works on history and geography. What he says about Zoroaster has been largely copied by later writers. I give the following extracts from the *Medows of Gold* in Barbier de Meynard's French translation.<sup>1</sup>

“Youstaf (Gustasp) régna apres son pere et résida a Balkh. Il était sur le trône depuis trente ans, lorsque Zeradecht, fils d'Espimânse présenta devant lui. On dit que Zerodecht était fils de Bourschasp, fils de Federasf, fils d'Arikdasf, fils de Hedjdasf, fils de Hakhich, fils de Batir, fils de Arhadas, fils de Herder, fils d'Espimân, fils de Wandest, fils de Haizem, fils de Iredj, fils de Dourchirin, fils Durroi Menonchehr: il était originaire de l'Azerbaidjân, et son nom le plus ordinaire est Zeradecht, fils d'Espimân. Il fut le prophète des Madjous et leur apporta le livre que le vulgaire appelle *Zemzemeh*, mais dont le vrai nom, chez les Madjous est Bestah. Zeradecht capta la raison de ses prosélytes par des miracles; il leur révéla les événements généraux ou particuliers qui se cachent dans la nuit de l'avenir. En d'autres termes, ses prédictions embrassaient à la fois l'ensemble des événements futurs et les faits particuliers, comme la mort ou la maladie de telle personne en tel jour, la naissance de telle autre à telle époque, et d'autres prédictions du même genre. La langue du livre révéla par Zeradecht ne renfermait pas moins de soixante lettres, or aucun alphabet connu ne se compose d'un plus grand nombre de caractères. Les détails dans lesquels des Madjous entrent, à cet égard, son reproduits dans nos annales historiques et dans l'Histoire moyenne. Comme le peuple prononçait difficilement et ne comprenait pas les mots de ce livre, leur prophète, ainsi que nous le dirons plus loin, indépendamment des explications qu'il donna dans son livre, y ajouta un commentaire, qu'il expliqua ensuite par un second commentaire; le texte entier, tracé en lettres d'or forme douze mille volumes.<sup>2</sup> Il renferme des promesses, des menaces, des prescriptions et, en général, tout ce qui concerne la loi civile et religieuse; ce livre devint le code des rois Perses, jusque à l'époque où Alexandre, après avoir tué Dara, jeta au feu

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1861, *sq.*, vol. ii. p. 123; cf. also p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> This goes back to the letter of Tan-

sar to the King of Tabaristan. See Darmstetter, *Zendavesta*, vol. iii. p. xxx.

une partie de l'ouvrage. . . . Quant au livre primitif, il est nommé *Bestah*. Pour en faciliter l'intelligence, Zeradecht composa un commentaire qu'on nomma *Zenda*; il rédigea plus tard un autre commentaire qui fut nommé *Bazend*; . . . Youstasf régna cent vingt ans avant d'adopter la religion des Mages, puis il mourut. La prédication de Zeradecht dura trente-cinq ans, et il mourut âgé de soixante et dix-sept ans."

In another work, *Indicatio et Admonitio*, Mas'ūdī<sup>1</sup> has repeated nearly the whole of the extract above given from *The Meadows of Gold*.

From the second work I add only the following additional note:—

"Zoroastre fils de Poroschasp fils d'Asinman, dans l'*Abesta*, qui est le livre qui lui a été révélé, annonce que, dans trois cents ans, l'Empire des Perses éprouvera une grande révolution, sans que la religion soit détruite; mais, qu'au bout de mille ans, l'empire et la religion périront en même temps. Or, outre Zoroastre et Alexandre, il y a environ trois cents ans; car Zoroastre a paru du temps de *Ghischasp*, fils de Caïlohrasp, comme nous l'avons dit ci-devant."

Coming down a little later, we find an interesting notice in the encyclopædia of all the sciences, composed by Ibn Abu Ya'kūb al Nadīm<sup>2</sup> (tenth century). In the chapter on Persian writing (p. 125; I omit the interesting introduction): "Now when Bistāsp reigned, the art of writing was already widespread, and Zarādusht, the son of Espitamān,<sup>3</sup> the head of the sect of the Magians, appeared. He brought forth his wonderful book in a multitude of languages.<sup>4</sup> People doubled their zeal in learning script and writing, in which they [afterwards?] became expert. Abd allah ibn al Mukāffa<sup>5</sup> says: 'Persian languages are the following: Pahlawī, Durian, Persian, Huzian, Syriac.' Pahlawī is derived from *Pahlah*, a name given

<sup>1</sup> Silvestre de Sacy, in *Notices et Extraits*, vol. viii. p. 132 sq. Reprinted in Barbier de Meynard's edition of the *Meadows*, vol. ix. p. 327. There is also a long account of Zoroaster in the *Kitāb al 'abr*, of Ibn Haldūn, the most philosophical of all the Muhammadan historians (born 1332 A.D.). See the Būlāk ed., 1867, ii. p. 161. But it contains nothing new, and I omit it.

<sup>2</sup> *Kitāb al Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flügel, Leipzig, 1871. Cf. also *Journal Asiatique*, Sixième Série, tome vii. p. 429 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Reading quite uncertain. Cf. vol. ii. p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the traditions in regard to the number of languages Zoroaster learned.

<sup>5</sup> Died 762 A.D. This whole passage is cited by Yākūt (thirteenth century). See the ed. of Wüstenfeld, iii. p. 925; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 1861, p. 428; Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1837. Yākūt: "There is a tradition that Pahlawī gets its name from Pahlūj, the son of Fāris."

to five places, — Iṣfahān, Rai, Hamadān, Māh, Nahāwand, Adhrahijān.<sup>1</sup> Durian is the language of the cities of Mada'in. Those who were in the court of the King made use of it; and it takes its name from them. And the speech in which Durian mostly predominates among the people of Ḥorasān and the East is that of the inhabitants of Balh. Persian is spoken by the Mobeds, the wise men, and the like. It is the language of the people of Persia.<sup>2</sup> Ḥuzian was spoken by kings and nobles in private, in places of sport and pleasure, and with their families. Syriac was spoken by the common people.<sup>3</sup> It is written in what is called Syro-Persian. Ibn al-Muḳaffa' says: "Persia has seven kinds of script, etc. One is the holy script, and is called the Din Defteriyah (?). In this script the Vestak (?) was written." Vestak is another form for *Avesta*. On p. 345, speaking of the sect al-Muslimiyya,<sup>4</sup> al Nadīm says: "When Abu Muslim died, people expected to see him, thinking he was the prophet empowered by Zarādusht. They claimed that Zarādusht was (still) alive and not dead; his followers also believed him to be alive and not dead, and that he would come forth (again) to set up this religion for them. These belong to the secret tenets of the Muslimiyya."

Abu Ja'far Muḥammad a Tabarī (died A.D. 923) is perhaps the most comprehensive of all the Muhammadan historians. He has gathered together a good many of the traditions relative to Zoroaster. Though he does not directly mention the connection of Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah, with the Iranian prophet, as do the Syriac authors, Jeremiah himself is said to have gone to Jerusalem during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar,<sup>5</sup> and to have fallen asleep before the Temple. After a hundred years he awoke, at which time Luhrasb was reigning. In speaking of his successor, he says:<sup>6</sup> "Hishām

<sup>1</sup> Yāḳūt adds: "Shīrawai ibn Shahradār says: 'The Pahlawī places are seven, Hamadhān, Māsbadhān, Ḳum, Māh of Baṣra, Saimara, Māh of Kufa, and Ḳarmīsīn. But Rai, Iṣbahān, Ḳūmas, Ṭabaristān, Ḥurasān, Sajistān, Kirmān, Makrān, Ḳazwīn, Dailam, and Ṭalākān are not Pahlawī places.'"

<sup>2</sup> In Yāḳūt this reads: "Ḥuzian is the language of the people of Ḥuzistān. It was spoken by kings and nobles in privies and water-closets, while undressing for the bath or to wash themselves."

<sup>3</sup> Or "by the people of Sawād," a district between Basra and Kufa. Yāḳūt: "Syriac takes its name from the land of Suristān, i.e. 'Irāk. It is the language of the Nabaṭæans."

<sup>4</sup> Haarbrücker, Schahrastānī's *Religionsparthein und Philosophenschulen*, Halle, 1850, i. p. 293; ii. p. 480.

<sup>5</sup> Mas'ūdī, ii. p. 122: "Bokht-Nassar fut le merzebān de Bohrasī, dans l'Irak et l'occident." A similar legend is told concerning Uzair (Ezra). See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, p. 114; Edwin Arnold, *Pearls of the Faith*, No. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Part i., Leyden, 1888, p. 648.

relates: During the reign of Bishtāsp, Zarādušt appeared, whom the Magians believe to be their prophet. According to some learned men among the people of the book,<sup>1</sup> he was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favourite. But he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore God cursed him, and he became leprous. He wandered to Ādharbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp, who was in Balh. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him, and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many of his people to death on its account. Then they followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve years.”

A little further on (p. 675), Tabarī, however, has another and more extended tradition: “It is said that he (Bishtāsp) built in Persia the city Fasa, and in India and other places temples for the fires, and placed over them the fire-priests; that he selected seven out of the nobles of his people, and made each one of them master of that part which he had appointed for him. Zarādušt, the son of Aspīnān, appeared in the thirtieth year of his reign. He laid claim to the gift of prophecy. Now he wished that the King should receive his faith; but he refused. But afterwards he believed in him and accepted that to which Zarādušt had invited him. He brought the King part of a book, which he claimed to be an inspiration. It was written upon the hides of twelve thousand oxen—the writing cut into the hide and covered with gold. Bishtāsp sent this (writing) to a place in Ištāhr called Darbīst.<sup>2</sup> He placed over it the fire-priests, and forbade them to instruct the people regarding it.<sup>3</sup> At that time Bishtāsp had made a sort of peace with the King of the Turks, Hārzāsp,<sup>4</sup> son of Kai Suāsp, the brother of Frāsiāt. One of the stipulations of this peace was that Bishtāsp should have standing at the gate of Hārzāsp an animal like the animals which stood guard at the gates of the King. Zarādušt counselled Bishtāsp to break faith with the King of the Turks. He acceded, and took back the animal and the man who had been appointed to watch it. When this was reported to Hārzāsp, he grew angry. He was an enchanter and puffed up with pride. He made preparations to fight

<sup>1</sup> The Jews.

<sup>2</sup> Vocalization uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> For the following, see Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii. p. 6; and cf. Wirth, *Aus Orientalischen Chroniken*, 1894, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> According to Barth, in his edition of the text, p. 677, note *b* = Arejat — aḡpa. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 55.

Bishtāsp, and wrote him an insolent, threatening letter. In it he informed him that he (Bishtāsp) had made a great innovation, and that he disapproved his having accepted the teaching of Zarādusht. He commanded Bishtāsp to send Zarādusht to him, and swore that, in case he refused, he would make war upon him until he should have spilt his blood and the blood of his family. Now when the messenger had brought the letter to Bishtāsp, the latter gathered about him his family and the nobles of his people; among whom were Zāmāsp, their wise man and their arithmetician, and Zarīn,<sup>1</sup> the son of Luhrāsp. Then Bishtāsp wrote as an answer a threatening letter to the King of the Turks, proclaiming war, and informing him that he would not desist from (fighting) him, even if he (Hārzāsp) should desist. So they set out one against the other, each one with a countless number of soldiers. With Bishtāsp were Zarīn (!), his brother; Nastūr, the son of Zarīn; Isfendiyār and Pashūtan, the sons of Bishtāsp, and all the family of Luhrāsp. With Hārzāsp were Gōhormuz and Andarmān, his brothers, his other relatives, and Bedrafsh, the enchanter. In those battles Zarīn was killed, which pained Bishtāsp very much. His son, Isfendiyār, showed great courage, and killed Bedrafsh in a duel. Defeat came to the Turks.”

Tabarī relates in another place (p. 681): “Bishtāsp died, having reigned one hundred and twelve years. Some say, that an Israelite whose name was SMY,<sup>2</sup> was a prophet and was sent to Bishtāsp. He came to him at Balḥ and entered the city; he and Zarādusht, the head of the Magians, and Jāmāsb, the wise man, the son of Fahd. SMY used to speak in Hebrew, which Zarādusht understood by inspiration.<sup>3</sup> He then wrote in Persian what SMY spoke in Hebrew. Jāmāsb was engaged with them in this. For this reason Jāmāsb is called the wise man. Some of the Persians say that Jāmāsb was the son of Fahd<sup>4</sup> (?) son of Hu, son of Ḥakan (?) son of Nadhkān (?) son of Faras (?) son of Hawarāsrāu (?) son of Manushīhr the king, and that Zarādusht was the son of . . .

“It is said that Bishtāsp and his father Luhrāsb were of the Sabæan religion until SMY and Zoroaster brought them (the new faith). They came when thirty years of his reign had gone by. This authority says that Bishtāsp reigned for one hundred and fifty years.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, corrects this to *Zārēr*. Cf., also, p. 2, *Zairivairi*, Windischmann, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Vocalization unknown. Some MSS. have *Sumi*. But see above *Simi*, in the extract from the oration of Melito.

<sup>3</sup> Talkīn. Cf. Dozy, *Supplement*, ii. p. 545.

<sup>4</sup> Vocalization uncertain, as in most of the following names. The F is sometimes written as a K.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ya'qūbī ed. Houtsma, p. 189.

The greater part of Tabari's history was afterwards incorporated in the work of Ibn Al-Athir (*Kitāb al Kāmil fī alta'arih*),<sup>1</sup> who flourished in the thirteenth century; but, with a more concise arrangement, and a few additions from other sources. In general, the account of Zoroaster follows closely the lines of al Tabari. Zarādusht is called the son of Saqimān. His relation to Jeremiah is told, and his wandering to Adherbaijān.<sup>2</sup> "It is said," he adds, "that he was a Persian and that he had composed a book with which he went around in the land. No one knew its meaning. He pretended that it was a heavenly tongue in which he was addressed. He called it Ashta.<sup>3</sup> He went from Adharbaijān to Fāris (Persia). But no one understood what was in it, nor did they receive him. Then he went to India, and offered it to the princes there. Then he went to China and to the Turks, but not one of them would receive him. They drove him out from their country. He travelled to Fergānā, but its prince wished to kill him. From there he fled and came to Bishtāsp, son of Luhrāsb, who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time. Zarādusht commentated his book and called it *Zend*, i.e. commentary. Then he commentated the *Zend* in a work which he called *Bāzend*, i.e. commentary of a commentary. It contains different sciences, as asceticism, astronomy, medicine,<sup>4</sup> and besides these, stories of past generations, and writings of prophets.

"In his book there is the following: Hold fast to that which I have brought you, until he of the red camel<sup>5</sup> come to you, i.e. Muhammad. This was at the beginning of the year 1600. For this reason, there arose great hatred between the Magians and the Arabs. It is said in the stories of Sābūr dhul Aktāf, that this was one of the reasons for the invasion of the Arabs. But God knows best.

"Then Bishtāsp caused Zoroaster—who was in Balḥ—to be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1867, 30, p. 1173. Brockelmann, *Das Verhältniss von Ibn al Athirs Kāmil . . . zu Tabari . . .* Strassburg, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Tornberg, Leyden, 1867, i. p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently a mistake for *Abasta*.

<sup>4</sup> Such scientific writings of Zoroaster are mentioned by Ibn Abi Useibia, 1250 A.D. (Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Arab. Ärzte*, p. 132), in his history of medicine, ed. August Müller, Kö-

nigsberg, 1884, vol. i. p. 9. "The Magians say that Zarādusht, whom they claim as their prophet, brought them books of the four sciences. They believe that these were written on twelve thousand hides of buffalos. One thousand of these referred to medicine." Cf. also Sanguinetti, *Journal Asiatique*, ser. iii. vol. v. p. 263; Darmstetter, *Zendavesta*, vol. iii. p. viii. There is a tradition to the same effect in Suidas, *ZDMG*, xix. p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> Kur'ān, *Sura* ii.

brought to him. When he stood before the king, he explained his religion to him. He wondered at it, followed it, and compelled his people to do the same. He killed a large number of them, until they accepted the (new religion). The Magians believe that he took his rise in Adherbajān, and that he came down to the king through the roof of the chamber. In his hand was a cube of fire, with which he played without its hurting him. Nor did it burn any one who took it from his hands. He caused the king to follow him and to hold to his religion, and to build temples in his land for the fires. From this they lighted the fire in the fire-temples. They believed that the fires which are in their temples burned from that time until now. But they are mistaken. For the fire of the Magians was extinguished in all the temples when God sent Muhammad, as we shall relate, if God so wills!"<sup>1</sup> The rest of the story (pp. 192, 194) is practically the account of Tabarī. In speaking of the Israelite who with Zoroaster and Jāmāsb translated the inspirations from the Hebrew, the name of the Israelite is entirely omitted.

A few points are added here in Ibn Al-Athīr's account. The story about the Avesta is evidently derived from Mas'ūdī. It is interesting to note that the supposititious quotation is applied here to Muhammad. In the Syriac accounts, it was applied to Jesus. The coming down of Zoroaster through the roof is new in these traditions; but I believe it has Iranian authority. It occurs again in the Cosmography of Zakariyya al-Ḳazwīnī (about 1263). In speaking of the districts of Shīz in Adharbāijān, he adds:<sup>2</sup> "Zarādušt, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here. It is said that he came from Shīz. He went to the mountain Sabalān, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was *Basta*. It was written in Persian, which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator. He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Kushtāsp, the son of Luhrāsp, the son of Kaiḡusrau, king of Persia. He wished to get to Bishtāsp, but he did not succeed. Bishtāsp was sitting in the hall of state, when the roof of the hall parted in two, and Zarādušt came down from it. Some of those who were with the king fled; others fainted. But the king did not move from his place. He said: Who art thou? Zarādušt answered: I am sent of God to you. Then, said the king:

<sup>1</sup> Abulfeda, *Annales*, ed. Adler, i. p. 7: "Illa nocte, qua propheta nascebatur . . . Sanctus Persarum ignis, qui mille per annos continenter arse-

rat emoriebatur." Brockelmann, *loc. cit.* p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848, ii. p. 267.

Though we have seen this wonder (*i.e.* the coming down from the ceiling), we are not satisfied. We have wise and learned men like thee. If they will bear witness in thy favour, we will follow thee. Zarādušt agreed to this. So the king commanded the wise and learned men who lived at that time, to listen to what he had to say and then to inform the king. They did so, and then said to the king: We have listened to what he had to say; it is true. Only one thing remains, to prove the wonder of his prophetic power. They continued: We wish to smear his body with some sort of drug and take some molten copper, then bind him and pour this molten copper over him. If he perish, then we have done with his affair. If he remain unhurt by this, we must follow him. Zarādušt agreed to this, and the king accepted this method of proof. Then they took off his clothes, bound him firmly, and poured over him the molten copper. But the copper became solidified and clung to all his hair, and did not hurt him in the least. The Magians still preserve some of these balls, the presence of which they consider to be a blessing. After this (the wise men) said: Nothing remains but to follow his call. Zarādušt commanded that fire-temples should be built in all the kingdom of Bishtāsp. He made the fire a Kibla,<sup>1</sup> not a god. This sect continued to exist until the prophet of God (Muhammad) was sent. They say that even to-day a remnant of it is to be found in the land of Sajistān.”

The ordeal here mentioned is not authenticated in other traditions; but Ardarpād, who is said to have revised the Avesta under Shahpur II. (309–379 A.D.) “in order to prove his own orthodoxy, underwent the ordeal of fire. Molten metal was poured on his heart, and he did not suffer from it.”<sup>2</sup> Has not the Arabic tradition transferred the story from Ardarpād to Zoroaster?

We saw above, in the Syrian traditions, that Zoroaster’s teaching was connected, in some way, with a well of water. Such wells are mentioned by Ḳazwīnī as existing about Mount Sabalān.<sup>3</sup> On page 189 we read:<sup>4</sup> “It is one of the highest mountains in the world. . . . It is related that the Prophet said: Sabalān is a mountain between

<sup>1</sup> The place towards which prayer is directed.

<sup>2</sup> *Contemp. Rev.*, 1893, p. 870. Perhaps it comes from a more direct source. See Darmstetter, *Zendavesta*, iii. p. xxxv.; *Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Not Sabilan, as Rawlinson tran-

scribed. Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster’s Native Place*, *JAOS*, xv. p. 226. See Yākūt, iii. p. 34; Istah̄rī, p. 181. 8; Ibn Haukal, p. 238; Ḳazwīnī, p. 189. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. a similar account by one “Bakoui” (1403), published by De Guignes, *Notices et Extraits*, ii. p. 465.

Armenia and Adharbaijān. On it is one of the springs of the Jinns, and in it is one of the graves of the prophets. He said further: On the top of the mountain is a large spring, the water of which is frozen on account of the severe cold; and around the mountain are hot springs to which sick people come. At the foot of the mountain is a large tree, and under this there is a plant to which no animal will draw near. If it comes near it, the animal flees away; if it eat of it, it dies." The tree appears also in connection with Zoroaster in the Syriac legends.

More curious still is the appearance of the Christian legend, as we found it in Isho'dad and Solomon of Basra in the account which Yākūt (about 1250) gives of Shīz in his *Kitāb Mu'jam albuldān*. I extract the following:<sup>1</sup> "It is said that Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, comes from this place. Its chief city is Urmia. . . . In it is a fire-temple which is held in great esteem. From it are lit the fires of the Magians from the East unto the West. On the top of its dome is a half-moon of silver. It is a talisman. Many Emirs have tried to remove it, but have not succeeded. One of the wonders of this temple is, that a fire has been kept up in it for seven hundred years, without any ashes having been found; nor has the fire gone out for one hour since then. Hurmuz ibn Husrushīr ibn Bahrām built it out of lime and stone. In it are lofty palaces and wonderful buildings. Whenever an enemy seeks to take this city and plants a ballista near to its walls, if he try to stone it, the stones fall into the lake which we have mentioned, and if he remove the ballista away from the wall, not one stone will reach it, but all will fall outside the wall."<sup>2</sup>

"The story goes, in regard to the building of the city, that Hormuz, king of Persia, was told that a blessed birth had taken place in Jerusalem (!) in a city called Bethlehem, and that the offerings brought to him should be anointing oil,<sup>3</sup> myrrh, and frankincense. Then he sent one of his friends with great riches, who took with him much frankincense. He commanded him to go with it to Jerusalem and enquire about this child; and that when he shall have informed himself about the matter, he should present the gifts to the child's mother, and should tell her of the glory and renown

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Up to here the passage, almost word for word, is incorporated in the account of Kāzwinī, part of which was cited above. Vol. i. p. 219, Yākūt

has: "Urmiah . . . people believe it to be the city of Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians."

<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly a mistaken reading. It should be "gold" (b for n).

which was to be the portion of her child, and of the good deeds he would do. He also asked that she should pray for him and for his people. The man did as he had been commanded. He came to Maryam — Peace on her! — and gave her that with which he had been sent, and made known to her the blessing of her child. Now when he wished to leave her, she gave him a sack of earth, saying: Tell thy master that a building will arise out of this earth. He took it and went his way. When he had come to the place where Shīz now is, — at that time it was a desert, — he took sick and thought he would die. So he buried the sack there. Thereupon he died. And the story got to the ears of the king. The Persians believe that he sent a trustworthy man to go to the place in which the first man had died, and build a fire-temple. But how shall I recognize this place? asked the man. Go, he said; it shall not be hidden from you. Now when he reached this place, he was in doubt, and wept, not knowing what to do. But when night closed in upon him, he saw a mighty fire arising from the place where the grave was. Thus he knew that this was the place for which he was looking. He went there, drew a line (in the ground) around the fire, and remained there over night. When morning came, he ordered a building to be erected where this line had been drawn. This building is the fire-temple in Shīz.”<sup>1</sup> But Yāqūt wisely adds: “This whole story comes from Abu Dulaf Mis’ar ibn Almuhalhal, the poet. I cannot vouch for the truth of it. For things are told on his authority which are superficial and untrue. I have incorporated it here as I found it, but Allah knows best. However, we have another tradition, that in Shīz there is the fire of Ādharhash, a temple honoured of the Magians. It was customary for their kings, when they ascended the throne, to make a pilgrimage thither on foot. The people of Maragha and (the whole) of this neighbourhood call this place Kazna; but Allah knows best.”

The connection of this story with Shīz is evidently due to the tradition that it was built by Hormuzd, for that is the name of one of the kings who are believed to have worshipped at the cradle of Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

A somewhat similar scepticism is shown by Al Masūdī (middle of tenth century), in relating the incident mentioned in the New Testament. In his *Medows*, vol. iv. 79, we read: <sup>3</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> See Wüstenfeld, *Zeitschr. für Erdkunde*, 1842, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> See Nestle, *Marginalien und Materialien*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> I simply cite the French translation of Barbier de Meynard.

“On cite, par exemple, dans la même province de Fars, une source nommée *source de feu*, auprès de laquelle était bâti un temple. Lorsque le Messie vint au monde, le roi Korech lui envoya trois messagères, porteurs, le premier, d'un sac d'encens, le second, d'un sac de myrrhe, et le troisième, d'un sac rempli d'or. Ils se mirent en route, guidés par une étoile que le roi leur avait décrite, et arrivèrent en Syrie, auprès du Messie et de Marie, sa mère. Cette anecdote des trois messagers est rapportée par les Chrétiens avec des détails empreints d'exagération; elle se trouve aussi dans les Évangiles. Aussi on raconte que l'étoile avait apparu à Korech au moment de la naissance du Christ; qu'elle marchait lorsque les envoyés du roi étaient en route, qu'elle s'arrêtait lorsqu'ils s'arrêtaient, etc. On trouvera de plus amples détails dans nos Annales historiques, où nous avons rapporté les Versions des Guèbres et des Chrétiens sur cette légende. On y verra que Marie ayant donné aux messagers du roi un pain rond, ceux-ci après différentes aventures, le cachèrent sous un rocher; ce pain disparut au fond de la terre, dans la province du Fars; puis on creusa un puits en cet endroit, et l'on vit jaillir deux gerbes de feu qui brillaient à la surface du sol; en un mot, tout ce qui concerne cette légende se trouve dans nos Annales.”

Yāḳūt has also a small article on Kazna, in which he says:<sup>1</sup> “It is a small place, about six parasangs distance from Marāgha. In it there is a place of worship of the Magians and an old fire-temple; also a great and very old palace built by King Kaiḩusrau.” The fire-temple in Shīz is often mentioned by Arabian geographical and historical writers; but the name varies. Thus Ibn ḩurdadhbaḩ (who lived about 816, and whose father is said to have been a Magian<sup>2</sup>) speaks of<sup>3</sup> “Urmia, the city of Zarādusht and Salamās and Shīz, in which last city there is the fire-temple Adharjushnas,<sup>4</sup> which is held in high esteem by the Magians.” Ibn al Fakīḩ al Hamadhānī, another geographical writer (about 910 A.D.), mentions<sup>5</sup> as cities of Adharbaijān: “Jangah,<sup>6</sup> Jābrawān, and Urmia,<sup>7</sup> the city of Zarādusht, and Shīz, in which there is the fire-temple Adharjush-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> *Fihrist*, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1889, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Adara gusaḩpa? Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1885, p. 286.

<sup>6</sup> = Kanza in the extract from Yāḳūt. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus*

*Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 250; *Journ. Royal Geogr. Soc.* x. p. 65, where Rawlinson identifies it with Takt i Suleiman.

<sup>7</sup> The same author says, p. 285: “Urmia is an old city. The Magians believe that their master, Zarādusht, came from there.”

nas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians." In another place (p. 246) he is more explicit: "In this district (*i.e.* Farahān) there is a city called Furdujān,<sup>1</sup> in which there is an ancient fire-temple. It is one of the fires for which the Magians show an excessively great esteem — like the fire of Ādhaḥurrah,<sup>2</sup> and the fire of Jamma-Shīdh (Jemshīdh), which is the oldest, and the fire of Mā Jushnasp, which is the fire of Kaihusrau. Now the Magians held these three fires in an esteem which can hardly be comprehended. They say that with Zardusht was an angel, who certified to Kush-tāsp that he (Zoroaster) was a messenger (of God).<sup>3</sup> Then *he* (angel) became fire again (?). As regards the fire of Jemshīdh, which is Ādharhurrah, it was in Hūwārazm. Anushirwān removed it to Alkāriyān. Now when the Arabs came into power, the Magians were afraid that it would go out. So they divided it into two parts: one part they left in Alkāriyān, and one part was taken to Fasa; thinking that if one went out, the other would be left. Now Ādharjushnasp, the fire of Kaihusran, was in Adharbaijān. But Anushirwān removed it to Shīz. The fire of Zardusht is in the province of Nisābūr. It was not removed. . . ." Al Fakīh<sup>4</sup> goes even so far as to explain the origin of fire-worship: "This Zardusht heaped threats upon them when he saw the cold in their land. For this reason, he commanded them to worship the fires."

The preceding account may be supplemented by Al Masūdi in his *Medows of Gold*, iv. p. 72. He relates how fire-worship was introduced by Alfridūn in Hurāsān. He built fire-temples at Ṭūs, Buhārā, Sajastān, Shīz, and Rāu: "Les dix pyrées que nous venons de mentionner dataient d'une époque antérieure à l'apparition de Zoroastre, fils d'Espemān, le prophète des Mages. Du vivant de Zoroastre, plusieurs temples furent consacrés au culte du feu; un, entre autres, à Neīçabour, dans le Khorāçān, d'autres à Niça et el-Beidā, dans le Fars. Sur l'invitation de Zoroastre, le roi Youstasf fit rechercher du feu vénéré par Djemchid; apres de longues investigations, il le découvrit dans la capitale du Khārezm, et le fit transporter à Darabdjerd, chef-lieu d'un district de la Perse. Le temple qu'il y bâtit est nommé aujourd'hui, en 332 de l'hégire, *Azerdzoui*"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or *Farhajān*.

<sup>2</sup> Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, etc., pp. 281 sq. Beruni, translated by Sachau, p. 215, speaks of the famous fire-temple in Ādharkhūrā in Fars.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. what is said in Vishtāsp Nāmāh. Darmstetter, *Zendavesta*, iii. p. xvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 248.

<sup>5</sup> Read Ādhar hurra, according to Hoffmann, *loc. cit.* p. 285. In his *Kitāb al Tanbiyah*, Mas'ūdi speaks of the fire of Adharhash. See *Prairies d'Or*, vol. ix. p. 326.

ce qui signifie 'le feu fleuve'; *azer* étant un des noms du feu; *dzouï* un des noms signifiant fleuve, dans la langue primitive de la Perse. Les Mages ont plus de respect pour ce temple que pour tous les autres édifices religieux. Cependant une tradition persane rapporte que ce fut Key-Khosrau qui, s'étant rendu dans le Khârezm, pendant son expédition contre les Turcs, prit des informations sur le feu sacré, le retrouva et lui rendit hommage. D'autres disent qu'Anouchirwan le fit transporter à Karian (petite ville de la Perse). A l'époque de la conquête Musulmane, les Mages, craignant que le feu vénéré dans ce temple ne fut éteint par les Musulmans, n'en laissèrent qu'une partie à Karian, et transportèrent le reste à Nica et el-Beïde district du Fars, afin de conserver l'un des deux autels si l'autre était détruit."<sup>1</sup>

Still another account is found in the History of the Religious Sects and Philosophical Schools by Abu-l Faḥ Muḥammad Al-Shahrastānī (born 1086 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> "Was nun aber die Feuertempel der Madschūs anbetrifft, so war der erste Tempel, welchen Afridūn baute der Feuertempel in Tūs, und ein anderer war in der Stadt Buchāra d. i. Bardisūn, und Bahman baute einen Tempel in Sid-schistān, welcher Karkara hiess. Sie hatten auch einen Feuertempel in dem Gebiete von Buchāra, welcher Kubadsān hiess, und einen Tempel, welcher Kuwīsah genannt wurde, zwischen Fars und Iszbahān, welchen Kaichusrau gebaut hat, und einen andern in Kumis, welcher Dscharīr genannt wurde; ein anderer Feuertempel hiess Kankadaz, welchen Sijāwusch im Osten von Szīn gebaut hat, und ein anderer zu Arradschān in Fars, welchen Arradschān, der Grossvater von Kuschtāsf, gebaut hat. Diese Tempel bestanden vor Zarāduscht, dann baute Zarāduscht einen neuen Feuertempel in Nisabūr und einen andern in Nisā. Kuschtāsf aber befahl, man solle ein Feuer suchen, welches Dscham verehrt hatte, und man

<sup>1</sup> There is another Arabic tradition, which connects the beginnings of Zoroastrianism with Media Proper, *i.e.* Rai. Yākūt has preserved it (i. p. 244): "Notūnāwand . . . the name of a celebrated fortress in Dunbāwand, in the province of Rai. It is also called Jarhud. It is one of the oldest fortresses and well-guarded strongholds. It is said to have been inhabited for more than three thousand years. During the time of the Persians it was a stronghold of the Mašmaghān, the

king of this district, who placed absolute reliance in it. Mašmaghān means Mas + Maghān; *Mas* means 'the great one'; *Maghān* means 'the Magians.' The whole signifies 'The great one of the Magians.' Hālid ibn Barmak besieged it, when he overcame its king and destroyed his power." See Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris, 1861, p. 33; *Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Haarbrücker, p. 298.

fand es in der Stadt Chuwarazm und brachte es nach Dārābdschard und es wurde Ādsarchuā genannt und die Madschūs ehrten es mehr als alle übrigen. Nachdem aber Kaichusrau zum Kampfe gegen Afrāsijāb ausgezogen war, ehrte er es und betete es an. Man erzählt dass Nūschirwān der gewesen sei, welcher es nach Kārmān brachte, einen Theil jedoch liess man zurück und einen brachte man nach Nisā. Im Lande Rum war ein Feuertempel vor dem Thore von Konstantinopel, welchen Schābūr ibn Ardaschir erbaut hatte und er horte nich auf bis zu der Zeit des al-Mahdi. Und ein Feuertempel ist in Isfīniyā in der Nähe der *Stadt des Heils* (Bagdāds), welcher von der Turan, der Tochter des Kisra, her stammt. Ebenso giebt es in Indien und Zzin Feuertempel.<sup>1</sup> Die griechen haben drei Tempel, worin kein Feuer ist, und wir haben sie erwähnt. Die Madschūs verehrten das Feuer aber nach verschiedenen Ansichten, von denen eine ist, dass es eine edle, hohe Substanz sei; ferne dass es das sei, was Ibrāhīm verbrannt habe, und es gehört dazu ihre Meinung, dass die Verehrung sie in jener Welt von der strafe des Feuers frei mache, und mit einem Worte, es ist ihre Kibla, ihr Versöhnungsmittel und ihr Zeichen.”

The best attempt at a philosophical presentation of the Zoroastrian system was made by the same Sharastānī, whose account I append in Haarbrücker's translation (i. pp. 275 sq.).

#### DIE MADSCHŪS (MAGIER).

“Sie nehmen zwei Principien an, wie wir bereits angegeben haben, nur dass die ursprünglichen Madschūs der Ansicht waren, es sei nicht möglich, dass beide Principien ewig, ohne Anfang seien, sondern das Licht ohne Anfang, die Finsterniss aber entstanden sei; dann waren sie verschiedener Meinung über die Ursache ihrer Entstehung, ob sie von dem Lichte entstanden sei, da doch das Licht nichts theilweise Schlechtes hervorbringe; wie also das Princip des Bösen oder etwas Anderes entstehe, da es doch Nichts gäbe, was mit dem Lichte an dem Hervorbringen und dem Ewigsein Theil

<sup>1</sup> In his chapter on China (vol iii. p. 457), Yākūt mentions in a place called Baghānīn(?) “a temple of gold in a desert four parasangs long. Snow never falls upon it, though there be snow all around it. In this temple there is a place for observing the stars. The Indians and Magians honour it greatly. This desert is called ‘the

desert of Zoroaster, the head of the Magians.’ The people of these lands say that whenever a man goes from this desert seeking sovereignty, no force can overcome him, wherever he may turn.” This notice must stand in some connection with the reputed journeys of Zoroaster to India and China.

nehme? Hierbei tritt der Irrthum der Madschūs an den Tag. Sie behaupten auch, das Erste, was es von Personen gegeben, sei Kajūmarth gewesen, zuweilen sagen sie auch Zarwān, *der Grosse*, und der letzte Prophet sei Zarāducht. Die Kajūmarthīja sagen, Kajūmarth sei Adam gewesen, wie denn in den Chronologien der Inder und Perser Kajūmarth als Adam vorkommt; die übrigen Verfasser von Chronologien weichen aber von ihnen ab.

“Sie (die Zarāduchtīja) sind die Anhänger des Zarāducht Ibn Būrchasb, welcher in der Zeit des Königs Kuschtāsf Ibn Luhrasb erschien; sein Vater war von Adsarbaidschān und seine Mutter mit Namen Dughdu, von Raī.

“Sie glauben, dass sie Propheten und Könige gehabt haben, deren erster Kajūmarth gewesen sei, welcher zuerst auf der Erde geherrscht und in Ifztachr seinen Wohnsitz gehabt habe; ihm sei Oschhandsch Ibn Farāwal gefolgt, der nach dem Lande der Inder gezogen sei und daselbst eine Berufung erhalten habe. Ihm sei Tahmūrath gefolgt, in dessen erstem Regierungsjahre die Szābia aufgetreten seien; nach ihm sei sein Bruder, der König Dscham, gekommen, nach welchem dann Propheten und Könige gekommen seien, zu denen Manūdschahr gehöre. Dieser sei nach Babel gezogen und dort geblieben. Sie sind der Ansicht, dass Mūsa in seiner Zeit aufgetreten sei. Und so fort bis die Herrschaft an Kuschtāsf Ibn Luhrasb gekommen sei, in dessen Zeit Zarāducht, der Weise, aufgetreten sei. Sie glauben, dass Gott zu einer gewissen Zeit seiner Herrschaft, welche in den ersten Blättern und in den erhabenen Büchern verzeichnet stand, eine geistige Schöpfung geschaffen habe; als aber dreitausend Jahre vergangen seien, habe er seinen Willen in der Gestalt von glänzendem Lichte nach der Zusammensetzung der Gestalt des Menschen herabgesandt, welchen siebzig von den verehrungswürdigen Engeln umgaben, und habe Sonne, Mond, Gestirne und die Erde und die Menschen dreitausend Jahre unbeweglich geschaffen; dann habe er den Geist des Zarāducht in einen Baum gethan, welchen er im obersten Himmel hatte wachsen lassen und auf die Spitze eines Berges in Adsarbaidschān verpflanzt hatte, welcher Ismuwidschar hiess. Dann habe er die Persönlichkeit des Zarāducht mit der Milch einer Kuh gemischt, so dass ihn der Vater des Zarāducht getrunken habe; dann sei er Samen, dann ein Stück Fleisch in dem Leibe seiner Mutter geworden, es habe ihr aber der Satan nachgestellt und ihren Zustand verändert; da habe seine Mutter einen Ruf vom Himmel gehört, worin Anweisungen über ihre Heilung enthalten waren, und sie sei wieder gesund geworden.

“Als er dann geboren worden sei, habe er ein Gelächter ausgestossen, was alle Anwesenden vernahmen; und man habe hinterlistig gegen Zaräducht gehandelt, so dass man ihn zwischen den Weg der Rinder und den Weg der Pferde und den Weg der Wölfe legte, aber jedes einzelne Stück von ihnen sei aufgestanden, um ihn vor seinem geschlecht zu schützen.<sup>1</sup> Nachdem er dann das Alter von dreissig Jahren erreicht habe, habe ihn Gott als Propheten und Gesandten an die Schopfung gesendet und er habe sich mit der Berufung an den König Kuschtäsf gewendet und der habe seinen Glauben angenommen; sein Glauben habe in der Verehrung Gottes und der Nichtverehrung des Satan, in dem Gebote des Guten und dem Verbote des Bösen, und der Enthaltung von unreinan Dingen bestanden. Er sagte, das Licht und die Finsterniss seien zwei Grundstoffe, die sich feindlich gegenüberständen und ebenso Jazdän und Ahriman, und beide seien der Anfang der geschaffenen Dinge der Welt, die Zusammensetzungen seien aus der Vermischung beider hervorgegangen, und die Gestalten seien aus den verschiedenen Zusammensetzungen entstanden, Gott aber sei der Schöpfer des Lichtes und der Finsterniss und Beider Urheber; er sei Einer, ohne Genossen, ohne Gegner und ohne einen, der ihm gleiche, und es könne auf ihn die Existenz der Finsterniss nicht in der Weise zurückgeführt werden, wie es die Zarwānija behaupten, sondern Gutes and Böses, Heil und Verderben, Reinheit und Unreinheit seien nur aus der Vermischung des Lichts und der Finsterniss hervorgegangen, und wenn die beiden sich nicht vermisch hätten, würde es keine Existenz für die Welt geben; beide ständen sich gegenüber und kämpften miteinander, bis das Licht die Finsterniss überwunden habe und das Gute das Böse, dan werde das Gute frei in seine Welt kommen und das Böse in seine Welt hinabgestossen werden und das sei die Ursache der Befreiung; Gott der Allmächtige aber habe sie nach der Weisheit, welche er in der Zusammensetzung erblickt, gemischt und vermengt. Bis weilen setzte er auch das Licht als Grundstoff und sprach sich so aus: seine Existenz ist eine wirkliche, die Finsterniss aber folge wie der Schatten in Beziehung auf die Person; er urtheilte nemlich, dass derselbe ein Geschaffenes sei, aber nicht ein in Wirklichkeit Geschaffenes, er (Gott) habe also das Licht hervorgebracht und die Finsterniss entstehe als Folge, denn zur Naturnothwendigkeit der Existenz gehöre der Gegensatz, ihre (der Finsterniss) Existenz sei also nothwendig, indem sie in die Schöp-

<sup>1</sup> Professor Jackson informs me that this episode is alluded to also in the *Zartusht Nāmāh* (thirteenth century).

fung falle, wenn auch nicht durch die erste Absicht wie wir es bei der Person und dem Schatten angegeben haben. Er hat auch ein Buch abgefasst, von dem man sagt, dass es ihm offenbart sei d. i. der Zandawastā, welcher die Welt in zwei Theile theilt Minah (Paradies) und Kitī (Welt)<sup>1</sup> d. i. den geistigen und den körperlichen, den Geist und den Körper. Und wie die Schöpfung in zwei Welten getheilt ist, so, sagt er, werde auch das, was in der Welt ist, in zwei Theile getheilt, Bachschisch (Gnade) und Kunisch (Thätigkeit) worunter er die Anordnung (Gottes) und das Thun (des Menschen) versteht, und ein Jeder sei in Beziehung auf das Zweite voherbestimmt. Dann besprach er die Wege der gesetzlichen Pflichten, und das sind die Bewegungen des Menschen, und theilte sie in drei Theile Manisch, Gūjisch und Kunisch, worunter er den Glauben, die Rede und das Thun versteht; und mit diesen drei sei die Verpflichtung beschlossen. Wenn der Mensch nun darin zu wenig thut, so fällt er aus dem Glauben und Gehorsam, hält er sich aber in diesen Bewegungen nach Massgabe des Gebotes und Gesetzes, so erlangt er das Grösste Glück. Die Zarāduschtija schreiben dem Zarāduscht viele Wunderthaten zu; dazu gehört, dass die Vorderfüsse des Rosses des Guschtāsf in seinen Leib hineingezogen wurden, während Zarāduscht im Gefängnisse war; als er ihn frei liess, wurden die Füsse des Pferdes auch frei; ferner dass er in Dainawar bei einem Blinden vorbeigegangen sei und gesagt habe, nehmet ein Kraut, welches er ihnen beschrieb, und drucket den Saft desselben in sein Auge, so wird er sehen können; sie thaten es und der Blinde wurde sehend.<sup>2</sup> Dieses fällt aber unter seine Bekanntschaft mit der Eigenthümlichkeit des Krautes, und gehört in keiner Weise zu den Wunderthaten.

“Zu dem, was Zarāduscht in dem Buche Zandawastā mittheilt gehört folgendes. Er sagt, am Ende der Zeit werde ein Mann mit Namen Aschidsarbakā, d. h. der wissend Mann, erscheinen, welcher die Welt mit Glauben und Gerechtigkeit zieren werde; dann werde aber in seiner Zeit Butjārah kommen und das Verderben in seine Sache und sein Reich werfen zwanzig Jahre lang; dann werde Aschidsarbakā darnach den Bewohnern der Welt erscheinen und die Gerechtigkeit lebendig machen und die Ungerechtigkeit vernichten und die verderbten Sitten auf ihren ersten Standpunkt zurückführen; und es werden ihm die Könige gerhorsam sein und das was

<sup>1</sup> Allusion to the frequent antithesis *mainyava gaēthya*, ‘heavenly and earthly,’ in the *Avesta* (Jackson).

<sup>2</sup> The ‘black horse’ episode appears also in the *Zartusht Nāmāh* (Jackson).

er unternimmt werde ihm glücken, und er werde den rechten Glauben schützen und in seiner Zeit werde Sicherheit und Ruhe eintreten und Ruhen der Zwietracht und Aufhören des Unglückes. Gott weiss es am besten!"

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